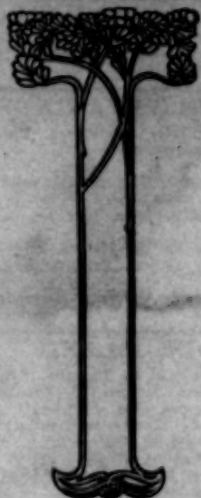


The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Published Monthly by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage
37 West 39th Street, New York City

Vol. 5
No. 2



THE SALOON AND SUFFRAGE
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RISE OF FEMALE DEMAGOGUE
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THE EVILS OF AN INDIFFERENT
ELECTORATE
=====

PRESENT SITUATION IN COLORADO
=====

CONGRESS WON'T AID SUFFRAGE
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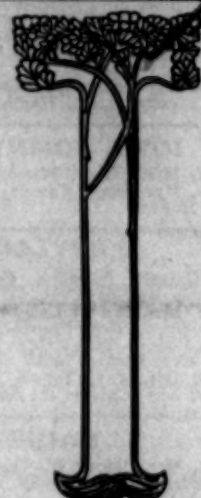
SUFFRAGISTS ENDORSE MARRIAGE
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A MORAL AND SPIRITUAL DANGER
=====

SUFFRAGIST ENDORSES EASY
DIVORCE
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REPORTS OF STATES' ACTIVITIES

JUNE
1914



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37 West 39th Street, New York City

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Officers of North Dakota organization received too late to appear in this issue.

THE SALOON AND SUFFRAGE

By GEO. M. PULLER

Former Statistician of the U. S. Government

If the suffrage party are leaders in the movement that is killing intemperance, why have none of the suffrage States become prohibition States?

IN the Washington *Herald* of February 26, 1914, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell objects to my comparing the number of liquor dealers—which are double per capita—in the six woman suffrage States of California, Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, Idaho and Washington with the number of liquor dealers in the remaining 42 States, because she says the six woman suffrage States are mining States and are States in which the men outnumber the women. Miss Blackwell, like Suffragists generally in their extreme views, has only taken a superficial survey of the matter. In the six suffrage States above mentioned that had woman suffrage January 1, 1912, there were, December 15, 1909, 78,565 wage-earners engaged in the mining industries (Census 1910, p. 561). Total number of men 21 years of age and over of the above six suffrage States, 1,911,518 (act Census 1910, p. 107), or about one man out of every 24 a miner. West Virginia had in 1909 78,404 wage-earners in the mining industry, and had in 1910 338,349 men 21 years of age and over, or one man out of about every four men in West Virginia was a wage-earner in the mines. Alabama had about one man out of 16 engaged in mining and Kansas had only a few less per cent. per capita engaged in mining than the six suffrage States, and yet West Virginia, with nearly six times the number of men per capita of men over 21, and Alabama with one-third more per capita, and Kansas with only a few less than the woman suffrage States, all three of these really mining States, voted State-wide prohibition, with men votes only. Wyoming, where women have voted about 45 years, has never had local option or State-wide prohibition, and Wyoming legalized gambling for about 40 years after women had the ballot. I am truly glad Miss Blackwell raised the question of fewer women than men in suffrage States, and offers that to explain the triumph of liquor where women vote, as I will cite some instances where women outnumber men and still the "demon rum" is legalized and also given special privileges. In Pasadena, Cal., a dry city for many years (almost since it was established) before women had the ballot, the sale of liquor was legalized about one year after women had the franchise. A letter under date of June 12, 1913, from Director of U. S. Census, shows there were in 1910 in Pasadena 9,262 males and 11,950 females 21 years of age or over, or 2,688 more women than men over 21 (over 29 per cent.); certainly more than a fair chance for Suffragists to have demonstrated their antipathy to the liquor traffic. At Santa Monica, Cal., December 2, 1913 (see *Los Angeles Times*, December 3, 1913), at an election on the liquor question, the saloons won by nearly *three votes to one* not to sell under restrictions, but it was voted that liquor could be sold nights and Sundays, and all night in cafés where cabaret entertaining prevails and where women and girls could be debauched. Santa Monica had 286 more women than men over 21 in 1910 (letter from Director of Census, December 13, 1913), and I do not believe such a condition of unrestricted liquor selling can be found in any male suffrage State in the Union in a home city of less than 8,000 people. In Colorado Springs, where the sale of liquor was prohibited for many years, women voted a few years ago on the question, and liquor selling was legalized, and Colorado Springs has 813 more females over 21 than males. As to half truths being the blackest of lies, quoted by Miss Blackwell, I think it would be wise for her to investigate the statement in

her article about 90 per cent. of Wyoming being dry. If she means 90 per cent. of the people in Wyoming live where liquor is not sold legally, 10 per cent. of Wyoming's area is not used for the sale of liquor, nor has 10 per cent. of the area of any other State ever been so used. I will ask Miss Blackwell to name one single county in Wyoming that is now or ever has been voted dry; also to point to any local option or other law that would prohibit any incorporated village of 150 people (30 families) or more from having saloons if they want them. Miss Blackwell says I should compare what dry territory Colorado had before women voted with what it has since they got the ballot (20 years ago). She says three towns only were dry when men alone voted and now 12 counties are dry. What a record! 20 years of women voting to vote 12 sparsely settled counties dry while two States adjoining Colorado, on the east, by men's votes, voted all the counties dry with State-wide prohibition. Ten male suffrage States all told have voted State-wide prohibition and over one-half the population in the United States, outside of the States where women have voted on the liquor question, live in dry territory. If 465 towns in California had voted dry in 1911 and 1912 they must have been country villages, which vote dry in any State, for there are only 78 cities and towns of over 2,500 population in California (Census 1910). Utah had 1,007 liquor dealers June 30, 1913—quite a showing if only one county was wet, as Miss Blackwell quotes, when the whole State has only 373,351 inhabitants—more liquor dealers per capita in Utah than in the male suffrage States. What little prohibition of the liquor traffic has been accomplished in California, Colorado and Idaho has been done in spite of woman suffrage, not because of it, for the per cent. of people living in dry territory in woman suffrage States is far less than in male suffrage States. Eugene W. Chafin, former candidate for President on the Prohibition ticket, said in a speech at Long Beach, Cal., February 15, 1914, that the support expected by Prohibitionists in California from women had not yet developed (*Los Angeles Times*, February 16, 1914). Woman suffrage in every State where it has been tried gives prohibition a decided set back, because women as a rule vote less generally than men when given the ballot. While the liquor dealers, hotels, cafés, and all trades and business men that supply them see that their women and their women friends vote solidly for liquor selling, it being to their interest financially, while women opposed to saloons vote less generally than men of their opinions, on the liquor as well as other questions, as statistics prove. Several of the liquor papers are beginning to see the light and have said that nothing is to be feared by the liquor interests from woman suffrage. If you want the saloons with us as long as possible give women the ballot, as Representative Dyer told the Retail Liquor Dealers' Association in this city a short time ago, that he would vote for woman suffrage whenever he got a chance, and "Give me woman suffrage," he said, "and I will stop you gentlemen from worrying about prohibition." Facts and figures are more reliable than mere statements, and if Miss Blackwell will only look under the surface of things she will not likely again say that I can hardly be expected to be taken seriously on this question. For woman suffrage certainly is in league with the liquor interests when it comes to practical results.

The Woman's Protest

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Vol. V

June, 1914

No. 2



The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

There are even greater words than Liberty, Equality and Rights. Lacordaire, during the revolution in France, dared to say to his countrymen: "You have written upon the monuments of your city the words Liberty, Fraternity, Equality. Above Liberty write Duty, above Fraternity write Humility, above Equality write Service, above the immemorial creed of your Rights inscribe the divine creed of your Duties."

AN OFFICIAL STATEMENT

In spite of denials to the contrary, the Suffragists continue to make accusations in public and in private that financial support is given to this Association by the liquor interests. I wish to make the following statement:

Neither Miss Bronson nor any speaker or organizer sent out by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage has ever had either salary or expenses paid by the saloon, liquor or brewery organizations or interests.

The expenses of salaries, traveling, office, publicity, publications, postage and all other expenses are paid by funds raised from private individuals, every donor being known to me. Furthermore, neither the State Associations nor the National Association has ever asked or received any financial support or assistance whatever from the so-called liquor interests.

MRS. ARTHUR M. DODGE,

President.

Subscribed and sworn to before me on the 27th day of May, 1914.

W. E. FEE,

Notary Public.

Notary Public, Certificate filed in New York
County No. 59. Register's No. 5162.
Commission expires March 30, 1915.

THE PARADES OF MAY SECOND

MAY First has been for many years the Parade Day or Demonstration Day of the socialist hosts. On that day the red flag supersedes the American flag. On last May day streamers of red floated on the same staff with, but *above*, the Stars and Stripes.

The first Saturday in May has for several years been the suffragists' Demonstration Day. On May Second throughout the United States the yellow flag of suffrage floated over suffragist paraders in several cities and the American flag was conspicuous by its absence.

Previous announcements by suffragist headquarters in the various cities led to great expectations. The immense number of marchers was to indicate the overwhelming demand for suffrage.

"Thousands" were to march in St. Paul. Actually less than 100 paraded.

"Seven to ten thousand" were to march in Washington. Actually 1,265 men, women and children paraded.

"Twenty thousand" were to march in Boston. Actually 8,031 paraded, including bands, policemen, young girls and babies.

Nine hundred marched in Hartford.

An interesting evidence of the attitude of the on-looking crowd was furnished by the sale of roses. Seven thousand Anti-Suffrage roses (pink, not red) were sold in Hartford and over 3,000 in Washington until the supply gave out, and red roses had to be substituted. The Anti-Suffrage roses were sold from a window on Pennsylvania Avenue opened for only twenty-four hours.

The Washington parade was a great disappointment to the suffragists. Although representatives were expected in great numbers from every State, many States had but five or six marchers, the largest number being thirty. The evening papers announced that from 5,000 to 10,000 paraders were in line, but the figures later given out by pressmen who checked the number with unbiased, unemotional, mechanical counters, were 1,265 men, women and children, and 1,485, including men, women, children, police, musicians and women who rode in automobiles.

Commenting editorially, the *New York Sun* said:

"Mrs. Dodge served them right when she had them counted. She also served the public and the cause of truth. Her spotters guarantee that there were altogether 1,265 men, women and children in the Washington suffrage procession, exclusive of the police and the band. This is as near as may be one-fourth of the number claimed by the suffrage arithmeticians, a ratio which it may be useful for the ordinary man to store up in his memory."

Speaking of the Boston parade, *Boston Truth* said:

"The parade was without doubt enjoyed by every one, marchers and spectators, and by no one more than the little chicken suffragettes and suffragoats who marched singing 'Glory Hallelujah.' It was a good advertisement for the cause; but not a particularly strong argument. Yellow banners, brass bands, pretty store girls glad of an outing, college boys always ready for fun, professional women vocal for rights and dumb on duties, women married, single, fat and lean, feminist men and emotional women and crowds cheering and jeering—these make a species of spectacle to enjoy, a holiday to please; but they do not offer any very convincing reasons why a community already concerned about electoral evils, difficult to combat and solve should seek a cure for its troubles by multiplying them, and find a remedy for its electoral evils by giving the emotional and hysterical elements of the community the ballot.

"In theory woman is the equal of man; in fact she isn't. She has a place in the economy of nature and civilization man cannot fill; and the duties and responsibilities of men cannot be met by women. The government of nations, states and cities is an affair for men; government rests on force in its final argument. In the days now at hand all signs point to the hour when America must meet embattled ignorance, discontent, anarchy, lawlessness and sexualism and either destroy them or be destroyed. To allow the emotional and weak elements of society to paralyze the hand of power and authority in that hour, to permit sentimentalism and feminism to handicap the forces of law, order and social stability would be suicidal; and the community that turns over its authority to its petticoats will go to pieces in the hour of trial. The safety of women, the home, the future of the race, the perpetuation of civilization and the preservation of religion are dependent on the dominance of man. Suffragism is a poison, a danger, though it dance ever so gaily, though it march ever so joyously. Men must think with their heads, not their hearts.

"It was a fine parade. The circus will come along next."

THE RISE OF THE FEMALE DEMAGOGUE

Extracts from a Letter by J. B. MALING, of Denver, Colorado

IN the matter of a campaign against votes for women in New York State, I have given this subject much thought because of my knowledge of the effects upon the prosperity and civic life of Colorado because of women having the vote.

It is hard for a man to discuss this matter in type without apparently being prejudiced in his judgment and harsh in his conclusions. We in Colorado have had woman suffrage for twenty years. It required fifteen years to develop the female professional politician to the full flower and fruit of her possibilities. She having arrived, however, this may be said of her, and said truthfully, a professional female politician in her relation with society and politics is just as much a thing apart from the home-loving, child-rearing, God-fearing wife and mother as the professional male politician and ward heeler is a thing apart from the industrious, home-providing, workingman and the upright, intelligent man of business. Actual experience with this class of women has proven over and over again that there is no trick of politics, no specious arguments, false premises, nothing used by the male politician that these female politicians will not use to accomplish their political ends. In Denver the headquarters for the Republican State Committee is the Brown Palace Hotel; for the Democrats the Albany Hotel. Each of these headquarters have a woman's auxiliary immediately adjoining

them. The women who flock about these places during the heat of an election campaign are in spirit and in truth actuated and prompted by the same inordinate desire to win, irrespective of the methods used, as are the men politicians who consult with them freely. I will not at this time attempt to go into all the particulars of why woman suffrage or vote for women has proven to be so valueless in bringing about political reforms, a higher standard of political practices and a development of a higher spirit of civic pride and citizenship than it has. I will say this, however, that the hysteria brought about and developed because of the fact that women are in politics keeps this State and the larger communities of the State in constant political turmoil. We in Denver during the past twenty-four months have held some fourteen city elections and at this writing recall petitions are out calling for more elections.

In closing I will say that not 31 per cent. of the women of Colorado use the ballot now that they have it. If an active campaign in New York is going to be carried on don't talk to the women along the lines that they do not know enough to vote; simply lay before the people of New York the history of women in politics in the State of Colorado for twenty years. That's the answer. I shall be glad to hear from you on this subject any time you chose to write me.

THE EVILS OF AN INDIFFERENT ELECTORATE

By S. D. BROSIUS,
Attorney and Counselor-at-Law of Pueblo, Colo.

IN an article in THE PROTEST for June, 1913, I enumerated a number of facts and circumstances to show not only that woman's interest in municipal affairs in Colorado was steadily declining, but also that suffrage had been a disappointment as an agency for genuine and sound reform. There are many other facts which the careful observer cannot fail to note if his eyes are not closed and his reason obscured, tending to show that the practical operation of woman suffrage has been injurious rather than beneficial to Colorado.

The history of woman suffrage here is a history of what it has not done. It has not drawn the majority of women into a discussion of political matters. Consequently it has not given them a practical knowledge of political matters. It has not led to an interest in or into a participation in politics, except to a very limited extent. And there is nothing in this history to justify the expectation that woman's interest in politics will not steadily decline.

Little as she has participated in legislative and executive activities, still less has woman had to do with judicial matters. There are no women lawyers in Colorado, nor is any one presiding over any court in the State, however small and humble. Though she was charged with jury duty in the suffrage amendment the same as men, as a matter of fact woman has never served on juries at all in Colorado. If by chance she was summoned for such duty, a simple request for release, invariably made, was invariably granted by the judge. So uniformly was she excused from this obligation of citizenship that when, a year ago, the jury law was amended and "reformed" the duty of jury service was limited to men—and there was none to protest!

Suffrage has not stimulated women's desire to enter any of the learned professions, and it is not observable that the enjoyment of greater "rights" has attracted a solitary woman to the

State. As teacher in the common schools she has made no gains over her sisters in the States where suffrage has not been granted.

Data are not at hand to show whether the women of Colorado receive greater recognition in the distribution of political plums than they do in non-suffrage States, but a recital of facts as they exist here will show that such recognition is scarcely more than form. In 1901 women were, by the courtesy of the appointing power, represented on eight of the thirty-one boards and bureaus which aid in the administration of the law and secured sixteen out of the 170 appointments. In 1913 there had been a great increase in the number of boards, bureaus and commissions, but the ratio of female to male appointees had not increased. It is worthy of note that out of thirty-five appointments which women received quite a large number were mere figureheads. Twenty-five of these were appointed from the city of Denver and ten from the remainder of the State. Thus Denver, with a population of 225,000, was given over 70 per cent. of the women appointments, while the other appointments (30 per cent.) were distributed over the State, with a population of 575,000, and as this inequality went without protest it is readily seen that the women were indifferent to their political rights.

One substantial change in governmental affairs has, indeed, been wrought by woman suffrage. About half the superintendencies of county schools have been, since 1894, filled by women, and the State has regularly since the same date elected a woman superintendent of public instruction. This much has been conceded to women, and it is not altogether improbable that the custom will continue. It is not the result of a belief that women are better organizers and directors of higher educational work than men, but it seemed to be about the only administrative duty that she could perform with even tolerable satisfaction. To the extent described, experienced men have been driven from

the educational field and their places have been supplied and the work done by fairly educated spinsters, widows and mothers, and of the two latter classes it is of course true that the best part or a large portion of their lives had been spent in domestic duties, during which educational work must have been laid aside and neglected. Let him who will assert that the great cause of education is of less importance than that women of mediocre ability and limited experience should continuously hold the office of school superintendent. Let him who will assert that femininity rather than virility is to be preferred in the management of our schools. If it is, then and only then has Colorado been benefited by woman suffrage.

But the women of Colorado have not seen the propriety of taking the office out of politics; and in every election one woman has strenuously contended against another—a Republican woman against a Democratic woman or a Populistic woman. As an almost invariable rule the women voted their party ticket, leaving the cause of education to take care of itself.

This substitution of women for men in school superintendencies has, however, been effected only in elective offices. No woman in any large city of the State has been employed by school boards for superintendent. Such boards have done what the women have not done or tried to do. They have put politics aside and have chosen their superintendents without asking their political affiliations and they have invariably selected men. If women are better educators than men and make better executive officers the school boards of the State have not yet found it out. Not even on school boards, election to which is non-political, have women made their appearance except in two or three cases, several attempts to secure positions having been met with decisive defeat.

Seeming instinctively to recognize the fact that politics and important executive offices are beyond their sphere, the good women of the State have not aspired to other elective offices. Only one woman in twenty years has been nominated and elected to an office other than superintendent of instruction by either of the dominant parties. The exception is that of Miss Anna L. Wolcott, sister of the late Senator E. O. Wolcott, who in 1910 was elected a regent of the State University. Such parties as the Populist and Socialist parties have frequently nominated women for the various State offices, and this fact is highly significant of the character of intellect and political thought which most favors political equality for women in Colorado.

When one notes the intemperate zeal with which a few Suffragists of the non-suffrage States demand their "rights," the threats which they make against the hesitators and doubters in authority, and when the profound indifference and apathy manifested by the great mass of the women in the suffrage States are seen and considered in connection therewith, he wonders why that information is not sought and given which the suffrage States alone can supply; he wonders why facts are not demanded rather than declamation and clamor.

There is an aspect of woman suffrage which seems to have escaped notice and comment, but which ought not to be left out of view in arriving at the merits of the alleged reform. I refer to the ballot considered by itself as an agency for good or as an instrumentality for evil. The most ardent advocate of woman suffrage will scarcely deny that the independence and intelligence of the voter lie at the foundation of our republican institutions. It is concededly true that it is among the dependent and the ignorant that political influence does its most corrupt and dangerous work. He must be a very shallow observer indeed who has not seen and been impressed with the political corrup-

tion of the cities where the dependent, the ignorant and the vicious are congregated.

The woman's vote is not independent. It is much more dependent than the man's vote. Either from choice, persuasion or coercion the wife adopts the politics of her husband in forty-nine cases out of fifty. She reflects his opinion in the voting booth far more than do the sons and daughters. The politically venal husband has therefore more influence for evil under woman suffrage than he had before. He has more to deliver. Again, the number of humble, ignorant, indifferent, pauperized, dependent and vicious women congregated in the congested districts of the cities is alarmingly large and nothing is easier than for political machines to herd and gather this vote for evil purposes, while, on the other hand, nothing is more difficult than to organize the vote of respectable women. While the woman's vote in country and suburb may be conceded to be reasonably fair and honest, though dependent, the vote of the enumerated classes has on more than one occasion in Colorado been absolutely controlled by desperate men, and has been the pliable and helpless instrumentality by which colossal frauds have been perpetrated and by which honorable congressmen and senators and even governors have received fraudulent certificates of election. This is history.

Philosophize as one may, the ignorant and dependent will do as they are told to do and as their immediate interest seems to suggest. Colorado has passed through the fire. In woman suffrage Colorado, in "progressive" Colorado, political depravity has sounded lower depths than in any other State. Woman's vote not only did nothing to correct the evil, but it did much to aggravate it. Not, of course, actively, but passively. That the evil has been considerably ameliorated and partially suppressed is not due to woman or her political influence. It is wholly due to the patriotism and resource of resolute and honest men.

It is true that politicians have frequently affirmed that suffrage was a success in Colorado and occasionally political and semi-political assemblies have resolved that Colorado has enjoyed an uplift by reason of it, but it is significant that all such declarations and all such resolutions have failed to point out in what respect suffrage has been serviceable to the cause of good government. It seems to have been assumed that because women have consented to register and to vote in considerable numbers, and because a few of them attended conventions and behaved civilly, and because no disturbance followed their assumption of the duties of the exceedingly few offices to which they had been elected, ergo, suffrage had been a success. The fact is, nothing beneficial came of it. No perceptible change in the manner of doing things political occurred. As the waters of the Ohio, when they disembogue into the Mississippi unite with the waters of that great stream and become one river, so did the votes of the women unite with the votes of the men. The course of the Mississippi was not changed by receiving the waters of the Ohio. The river was just a little wider and a little deeper. In Colorado the total vote was swelled by 75 or 80 per cent. That was all. And that is what has been heralded as a success.

Outside of a small circle of political aspirants, who deem it more advantageous to themselves to flatter the women by gallant speeches, very few people among the intelligent and observing class favor woman suffrage, and they would be glad to see it abolished. Many believe that it would fail in case of re-submission and large numbers of people would rejoice to see a law initiated giving the voters a chance to express again their views on the question. It is doubtful if the advocates of woman suffrage would dare to make the test.

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN COLORADO

THE miner's "strike war" has turned all eyes upon Colorado, a State where women have voted for twenty-one years.

Suffragist leaders in Denver organized a demonstration in the closing days of April, which is described in their official national suffrage organ as follows:

"They issued a call in the name of the womanhood of their State for a meeting at the Capitol. One thousand of them, with the cries of the slaughtered in their ears and aghast at the horror of ruthless State murder of their fellow citizens, marched to the Capitol and demanded an audience with the Governor. He refused to see them. They stood firm and repeated their demand. The Governor hesitated; he did not want to see them, but they were voters; besides, there was something awe inspiring in their spirit and numbers; they meant business. The Governor reluctantly admitted them."

Does anyone imagine that if one thousand women in any State (suffrage or non-suffrage) camped in the capitol, the governor would refuse to consider their demands—and grant them if reasonable and right?

A great deal of comment, editorial and otherwise, has appeared in the daily papers all over the country on the unfortunate situation in Colorado. We print here a few of these to show the trend of public feeling. We do not print these as our own opinions or conclusions because the entire story is yet to be told.

We do not think for a moment that the present deplorable condition of affairs in Colorado is due to the votes of women, but we do say that it exists in spite of twenty-one years of woman suffrage.

To the Suffragists' assertion that it was their possession of the vote which led the Governor to grant the demand for Federal intervention the reply was made:

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

"In your current issue Miss Blackwell queries 'When did an unwilling Governor ever take an important political step to stop human slaughter at the behest of a peace society of voteless women?' Those to whom a stable government is of greater concern than the propaganda for woman suffrage might rejoin, 'What is the trouble with Colorado's electorate? Is it possible that twenty-one years of the woman's vote has weakened its fabric?' Suffragists claim that women sometimes cast 51 per cent. of the entire vote in that State. This 'unwilling Governor' and his impotent official family were placed in office by Colorado's electorate, men and women. Are we so sure that the appeal for intervention by Federal troops is a 'success' of Colorado's women? Did not the appeal constitute an admission that Colorado women, though they might be active lawmakers, were powerless to secure to the citizens of that unhappy State the rights guaranteed under the Constitution? The appeal for Federal troops was an acknowledgment of domestic lawlessness. It may be necessary to call in the policeman to settle family quarrels—it is not an act to boast of.

"By the way, the president of this peace (?) society is the woman of whom Judge Lindsey wrote in 1910, 'Mrs. Lafferty took the platform against me and supported the system in its attempt to "get" the Juvenile Court.'

"Are we to believe that Colorado men are sitting idly by while their voting women beseech an 'unwilling Governor' to call in Federal troops? The whole story is not yet written.

"A. N. GEORGE,

"Brookline, Mass."

Possibly the sentiments of most men would be expressed by this quotation from a cartoon in *The Omaha World-Herald*:

Under the heading "A Soliloquy," the *Omaha World-Herald*

recently printed a cartoon in which the "common everyday man" was represented as saying:

"Lemme see, the equal Suffragists tell us that, if given the ballot, the first and most important thing they will do will be to correct the injustices of the present industrial system and improve the conditions of laboring men and women. Colorado has had equal suffrage for twenty-one years, yet it is the worst governed State in the Union and has been compelled to call on the Federal government to restore order within its borders, where industrial anarchy reigns. While the women of Colorado cannot be blamed for this condition, they certainly have not prevented it. Um-m-m, lemme see, is there any reason for thinking Colorado women are any different from those of any other State?"

Under the heading "The Influence of Womanhood," *The Fort Collins (Colo.) Review* of May 20th, said:

"Colorado has had recently a most remarkable example of the influence of women in politics. In a large measure any future resumption of hostilities in Southern Colorado must be laid at the doors of those women who have fomented trouble from the start and who, by their charges against the guardians of the State's peace, have inflamed the minds of both sides until war to-day is merely smouldering, instead of being stamped out.

"Mrs. Lafferty, Mrs. Robinson, Mrs. Champion—a dozen women prominent in politics have lent their efforts to the resumption of war. Not content with criticising the administration and every one connected with the preservation of peace, they have openly sought to stir deeper animosity in the bosoms of the strikers, appealing to them through their own women.

"We have always hesitated to say anything against the influence of women in politics. As a general rule, its influence may be healthful, but in this one instance we have no hesitation in saying that it has been most detrimental to good government. Their sympathies have run away with their judgment and they stand arrayed against the State in the greatest crisis of recent years."

That there is a distinct difference of opinion among Colorado people themselves is indicated by the reports of the two delegations sent to President Wilson.

One of these was headed by Judge Ben Lindsey who told the President that in his opinion Colorado no longer has a republican form of government. Judge Lindsey sought to have the Federal Government intervene further, but the President told him that the State should not "forego her sovereignty" and that Federal maintenance of order was not to be indefinitely continued by the inaction of the State Legislature.

The second delegation was headed by Mrs. Helen M. Greenfield of Denver, Vice-President of the Law and Order League, and for many years State Superintendent of Education. She, too, commended the action of the President in sending Federal troops to the strike region, but laid before him a mass of evidence to offset the representations made by Lindsey. On the basis of these representations, it is reported by the newspapers, that the same league is circulating a petition for the recall of Judge Lindsey.

The New York *Sun* comments editorially:

"WOMEN VOTE IN COLORADO

"Women have voted on equal terms with men in Colorado since 1893. For ten years that progress in better social conditions which, we are assured from countless platforms, must inevitably result from the dropping of ballots into ballot boxes by women's hands has been duly advertised from Denver. We have read dozens of pamphlets, letters and articles setting forth in glowing periods the notable advances in civilization made by the State since the purifying influence of woman has been at work.

"Yet the State government of Colorado has gone to smash, in a manner not in any way unlike the breakdowns of other State governments put in power by men exclusively. It has failed in its fundamental duty: the obligation to preserve public order. If the strikers say sooth, the trouble began because of intolerable labor conditions, those conditions which women's votes were promised particularly and promptly to correct.

"The votes of women seem to have left the State about where it was. It does not appear to be better administered than its neighbors. In proportion to its population it uses a larger number of ballots."

A citizen of Buffalo quotes *Collier's Weekly*, a suffrage supporter, as confessing the absolute failure of government in Colorado, and sees other signs of the times. He says:

"EDITOR BUFFALO EXPRESS:

"A Suffragist orator at one of the recent street meetings held in this city made the statement that if women were given the ballot they would improve conditions for men as well as for women. Permit me to offer a quotation from the editorial page of a prominent magazine which ardently supports woman suffrage, *Collier's Weekly*, of May 9th: 'The trouble in Colorado comes from the absolute failure of government there.' In the light of this statement, and of recent events in Colorado, one may be pardoned for being skeptical as to the benefits that will accrue to this or any other State by reason of woman's vote. Is not twenty-one years of woman suffrage long enough to produce some result in the way of improved conditions in the State of Colorado? What answer can be given by Suffragists to this statement from their own ranks that government in Colorado is a failure?

"It argues poorly for the success of their program to improve conditions when the Suffragists denounce the present mayor of New York and threaten to defeat him should he again run for office because he will not give his unqualified approval to the votes-for-women propaganda, although he would seem, from this distance, to be conducting the affairs of that great city in a remarkably capable manner. Can any improvement in governmental conditions be accomplished by an organization which denounces and threatens efficient, honest and capable officials simply because the officials in question doubt the wisdom of the main object of such organization? The work that these men have in hand, that they are paid to perform, may be admirably done, but this goes for naught because they are not Suffragists. The logical conclusion to this is that, so far as a Suffragist is concerned, a poor official who supports the cause is more desirable than a capable one who has no strong convictions on the subject. Tammany, take notice!

"May I trespass further upon your good nature to ask if there is warrant for the statement that the ballot is essential to the workingman? A sign on the window of suffrage headquarters states that there are 1,000,000 working women in the State of New York and that if the ballot is essential to the workingman it is equally essential to the working woman. I believe that there are workingmen, and women, too, in the District of Columbia and in the canal zone, and from what I have read, and from my own observations, these workingmen and women seem to be quite as well off and to have as many privileges, outside of voting, as men and women of the same class in the States where universal suffrage prevails—Colorado, for instance. Far be it from me to attribute all the blame for the failure of government in the State of Colorado, mentioned by *Collier's*, to our Suffragist sisters, but I do contend that such failure may be fairly laid to the account of an increased and weakened electorate.

"JOHN W. WOOD."

Several months before the present exposure of the weakness in the government of Colorado, one of its newspapers, the *Pueblo Sunday Opinion*, said editorially:

"Mrs. Anna Kelly is in the East and is telling things about the women voting, etc., in Colorado. Mrs. Kelly is more than right in her statements about equal suffrage in Colorado. The women do not care anything for it and the men don't either. Conditions are no better, and it is generally believed that they are worse since the franchise was granted them. But Mrs. Kelly told her story at Ann Arbor, Mich., and is as follows:

"I worked hard to get the franchise for women in Colorado, and ever since 1894, when it was granted, I have voted, but were the question put to a vote in Colorado to-day whether or not to continue to grant the franchise to women I would vote to recall it, and fully half the women in Colorado would vote the same as I."

"It was Mrs. Anna Kelly of Grand Junction, Colo., one of the foremost workers to bring about suffrage in that State, who made this statement. Mrs. Kelly is the mother of Eugenia Kelly, the woman delegate to the Democratic national convention last summer.

"I, too, felt at first that the franchise for women would be a great thing," said Mrs. Kelly. "I believed politics would be purified, the world would be better. To-day I know the conditions of my own State are not bettered after nineteen years of equal franchise. Nineteen years is a long enough time to try it out. I believe the conditions which women's votes were to eliminate, or at least better, are worse to-day than they were before 1894."

Congress Declines to Consider Suffrage

WOMAN suffrage is dead, so far as this Congress is concerned. The recent action of the House Committee on the Judiciary in reporting "without recommendation" the resolution providing for a suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution was a legislative farce, and the members of the committee thoroughly appreciated this fact when they took such action. Congress has decided once for all not to give any Federal encouragement to the woman suffrage propaganda.

Owing to the condition of the House calendar it would be impossible to obtain consideration of the resolution in the House except by means of a special rule.

But this was not all that was done to end the suffrage question in the House. Members of Congress from the suffrage States insisted that the Democratic party should hold a caucus to decide the party's policy on this issue. The caucus voted overwhelmingly against Congress taking any action favoring woman

suffrage, and a few days later Mr. Underwood of Alabama, the Democratic floor leader, announced from the floor of the House that the House refused to admit the truth of the suffrage argument that the Federal government should interfere with the franchise of the States in any way.

For these reasons the action of the Judiciary Committee is without meaning and without effect. It creates the impression that members of the committee, wearied by the hectoring tactics of the Suffragists, and knowing that no action on the resolution is possible, laid the resolution before the House "without recommendation" in order to rid themselves of the nuisance.

Everybody else understands—and it is high time for the Suffragists to understand—that if they expect to make any headway they must work in the States and not expect aid from the Federal government on a proposition which the statesmen of the country say the Federal government should not touch or effect.

The Fundamentals of Government

(Editorial from *Brooklyn Life*, April 18, 1914)

IT is wonderful how much encouragement both the advocates and opponents of woman suffrage seem to get from the results of elections in States where women vote. Yet such elections have resulted in nothing either good or bad which can reasonably be attributed to women's votes, for nothing has happened which might not reasonably have happened if women had not voted. And this is just what one would naturally expect in local elections. Men and women are not so differently constituted mentally that they could be expected to part company on any issue likely to arise in municipal or even State politics. The differences observable are temperamental rather than mental, and are far from being peculiar to the individuals of the sex to which they are ascribed. What we call feminine or masculine traits or attributes are merely traits or attributes more commonly observed in one sex than the other, and women have never as yet in this country, if anywhere else, been an important factor in deciding any fundamental question calculated to put to the test their ability to subordinate emotional impulses or sentimental considerations to principles of sound government. Men have certainly been none too successful in this; but that fact furnishes anything but an argument for woman suffrage, unless it can be shown that dispassionate, clear-headed, unemotional thinking and a disposition to be interested in governmental policies are more characteristic of women than of men. For it is beyond all dispute that the future of democracy is in the hands of the electorate and that unless the electorate improves in intelligence, zeal and conscientious fulfilment of its obligations, democracy is doomed to certain failure. Hence any addition to the electorate which would raise the standard of its intelligence and efficiency would make for the permanence and stability of our Government, but any addition which would tend to weaken it, either by reducing its intelligence or its sense of responsibility, would seriously complicate the great task of developing an electorate on which a democratic government can safely rest. In considering woman

suffrage, therefore, from the point of view of political expediency purely, we have only to consider such questions as these: Does the demand for votes by women reflect a desire to vote or simply a desire to be endowed with the right to vote? Are women as a rule interested enough in the great underlying principles of sound government to consider them seriously or desire to comprehend them, or, to put it fairly, are they as much interested in them as are men? Do they realize as fully as the men in their own respective spheres of life the vital importance of preserving the independence of the judiciary and a representative form of government? Could a silver-tongued emotionalist like Secretary Bryan cajole them into accepting his financial heresies more or less easily than he did an electorate of men? Are not women in fact, generally speaking, far less interested in such underlying questions than in the humanitarian and purely incidental accessories of government which are not essential functions of government at all, and is not the protest of the Anti-Suffragists a protest against being compelled to give serious thought to questions in which women are not naturally interested and which as a matter of fact are only interesting because of their vital bearing upon our material welfare? Without attempting to answer these questions we will merely remark that the paramount issues of to-day are basic issues, and that if the hopes of the woman Suffragists of this State are realized the women of the State will become joint sharers with the men in a heavier burden of responsibility for the integrity of American institutions than has rested upon any electorate since the Civil War, and if they wish to do their duty by the State they must dismiss from their minds the idea that government is merely housekeeping and abandon the notion, which many Suffragists seem to entertain, that such matters as the liquor traffic, child labor, the minimum wage and laws affecting women in particular are fundamental questions of government. The primary functions of government are those functions which only the government can perform, to wit: the administration of justice and securing to citizens their rights to life, liberty and property.

Suffragists Officially Endorse Marriage

(*Boston Daily Advertiser*, Boston, May 20, 1914)

Miss Alice Stone Blackwell was elected President of the N. E. Woman Suffrage Association at the Forty-seventh Annual Meeting.

Francis J. Garrison was elected Treasurer and Mrs. Jenny S. Merrick Secretary, with a long list of vice-presidents representing all the New England States.

This resolution was passed:

"We, the suffragists, reaffirm our belief in marriage and the home, in the obligations of husbands and fathers to support their families, and in the duty of both men and women to uphold social purity.

"We denounce as a gross slander the charge of the anti-suffragists that equal suffrage means loose morals; and we protest especially against their attributing to prominent women statements which those women have emphatically disclaimed. These are the tactics of the polecat when badly frightened."

We really have drawn the Suffragists' fire when they resort to such a resolution as the one quoted above. This is perhaps the most extraordinary resolution ever adopted by a public assemblage. Is this "woodsy" metaphor a foretaste of the amenities in which political women will deal? These suffragists should not condemn their opponents, but they should hasten to withdraw from the suffrage platform those who are preaching feminism. The resolutions should be aimed at the suffragist-feminists who are giving daily evidence of the tendency of the

Younger Suffragists to work for the "social revolution" promised by Mrs. Harper-Cooly. A New York daily, under date of May 26, quotes the Secretary of the National Suffrage Association as defining Feminism as "the rebellion against being ticketed and treated as somebody's female relative." If this rebellion does not involve a social revolution, what does it promise?

Ellen Key and Dora Marsden are not anti-suffragists in the sense that they oppose woman suffrage. They look upon woman suffrage as a part of this social revolution. Ellen Key pleads for the woman only as the mother of the child. Dora Marsden, in a pamphlet issued by the *National American Woman Suffrage Association*, says: "The cult of the Suffragists takes its stand upon the weakness and dejectedness of the conditions of women. * * * Therefore, give them the means wherewith they may be protected. Those of the cult of the Free Woman, however, while granting this in part (italics our own), would go on to say, 'in spite of opposition, we feel within us the stirrings of new powers and of growing strength' * * *. The Free Woman's concern is to see to it that she shall be in a position to bear children if she wants them, without soliciting maintenance from any man, whoever he may be." These Feminists are the logical suffragists, who have the intellectual honesty to declare that you cannot change everything and leave everything unchanged; who seek the "Social Revolution," and acknowledge the means by which they will bring it about, and these means include, although they may not stop at, Woman Suffrage.

A MORAL AND SPIRITUAL DANGER

WE reprint below part of an editorial from a suffrage paper in a suffrage state and an answer to it from a paper in a non-suffrage, adjoining state:

(Editorial from Sacramento *Bee*)

AS OTHERS SEE IT.

TRUE WOMANIST MOVEMENT NEEDED.

Miss Lola La Follette (Mrs. George Middleton), daughter of Senator La Follette, declares a woman has a right to retain her maiden name after marriage, and advocates that it be made the general practice. To this new feminist contention Miss Minnie Bronson, secretary of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, neatly retorts that it may become needful for future "Miss Follettes" to carry their marriage certificates with them when traveling with their husbands. * * *

There is no necessary relation between rightful agitation for woman suffrage and the "advanced" aims of the feminists who boldly and shamelessly assert the right to free love, or, as some of them euphemistically style it, "freedom in love." There would seem to be both opportunity and occasion for good mothers and wives to start a true-womanist movement in this country, by way of antidote to the moral poison that the extreme feminists are sowing broadcast.

Editorial, Reno, Nevada *Evening Gazette*.

THE NATION'S MOST CRYING NEED.

We reprint on this page, today, a recent editorial from the Sacramento *Bee* under its original caption, "TRUE-WOMANIST MOVEMENT IS NEEDED." This is significant, coming, as it does, from a newspaper that has advocated and defended woman suffrage.

Isn't it possible that the editor of the *Bee* has failed to measure correctly or estimate accurately the several phases of this modern movement that has come to be called by its leaders, "The Emancipation of Woman"? Has he clearly distinguished between cause and effect? Is he quite certain that Feminism can be divorced from Socialism except in theory? Isn't woman suffrage, after all, only an incident? Isn't it an "effect" rather than a "cause"? Haven't Feminism and woman suffrage and several minor but correlated "movements" the same origin?

We have many men who would escape the plow, the pick and the shovel, the saw and hammer, the desk, the counter, the office, and the entire environment in which their greatest usefulness and possibly their only usefulness may lie. We have many

women who look upon all work as drudgery, except that which may afford continuous excitement or absorbing interest, without regard to its usefulness.

We find thousands of good women, home women, mothers, real home makers, whose ambitions and aspirations outrun their means or their capabilities, as we have many men of the same type.

"There is no necessary relation between rightful agitation of woman suffrage and the advanced aims of the Feminist," says the *Bee*. No "necessary" relation, but is there no natural relation?

We are in hearty accord with the *Bee* as to the importance of a True-Womanist movement. Its first step should be to reform a number of so-called "finishing" schools by sending our daughters to other schools. Its second step will be to rekindle an interest in the work of the home, honest and necessary labor now called "drudgery." There can be no home without a housekeeper or caretaker. The woman ashamed of her occupation is no happier than the man ashamed of his. The woman ashamed of her occupation or without interest in it, is in danger—physical, moral and spiritual danger.

We find the President of Bryn Mawr, the organizer of the College Equal Franchise Society, giving expression to such language as this:

"Women may have spent a lifetime in fitting themselves for a scholar's work and then may be asked to choose between it and marriage. No one can estimate the number of women who remain unmarried in revolt before such a HORRIBLE ALTERNATIVE."

We may seem old-fashioned, but when we find women occupying positions of such leadership using this language, we are ready to agree with Editor McClatchy that the time is ripe for a True-Womanist movement.

If we had any doubt of it, the doubt would be removed when we read such inscriptions as this, on banners carried in public parades, not in Europe but in America: "There is a sweeter word than mother, home and heaven; that word is liberty."

We will again repeat we are not opposing woman suffrage in Nevada; we are simply asking the voter to think about it before he votes, and the woman to think about it before she voices her wish to the voters of her family.

NO QUARREL!

THE following "advertisement," or "reading notice," appears in *The Humboldt Star* of Winnemucca, Nev., dated March 2, 1914. It is signed by the President and Secretary of The Woman's Equal Franchise Society. "Comment is superfluous."

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

The impression is prevalent among a number in this community that the members of the Woman's Equal Franchise Society are fighting the liquor interests. Rumors reach us every little while that we are seeking suffrage for the express purpose of closing all saloons. While it is gratifying to the vanity to learn that there are some who fear we can accomplish at one "fell stroke" what the Prohibitionists have vainly attempted for a decade, we feel we must put the subject straight before the public.

The Woman's Equal Franchise Society is not a political party nor is it allied with any of the existing parties. We have no quarrel with the existing order of things, saloons or otherwise. We are simply asking for the right to vote, because we think it but justice to have a voice in the government we help to support. If we secure this privilege, we are bound by no promise and will exercise our right according to individual conscience. Some of the men interested in the saloon business here have shown us not only the greatest courtesy, but have helped us in various ways.

If the persons who circulate these stories will look up the history of States that have given women the ballot we think they will find they are not any "drier" than they were before. Utah and Colorado, where women have voted for years, are not Prohibition States. San Francisco voted on the liquor question last year after women were admitted to the polls and went wet by a large majority.

We could cite many more examples if we had time and space. All we ask is the truth. Give us a square deal.

MRS. M. S. BONNIFIELD, President.

MRS. S. G. LAMB, Secretary.

In the recent debate in the House of Lords in which the suffrage bill introduced by Lord Selbourne was defeated by forty-four votes, the Bishop of London made the statement that he did not formerly believe in votes for women, but that after a bomb had been placed under the Bishop's throne in St. Paul's Cathedral, he became a convert. A fellow Liberal peer, Lord Wear-dale, replied that the attack made on him at Euston Station by a Suffragette armed with a dog whip had not produced that remarkable result. He was still unconverted from his opposition to woman suffrage.

THOSE WHO HAVE CHOSEN THE BETTER PART

(New York Evening Sun, May 9th.)

"TO-MORROW IS MOTHER'S DAY."

(By some strange happening—wilful appropriation or oversight—the Suffragists issued this proclamation a week ago, asking the ministers to say a good word for Mother from their pulpits—a good suffrage word, of course. But as a matter of fact the almanac states in unmistakable terms that Mother's Day is to be observed on the second Sunday in May. Only Thursday the House passed the Heflin resolution asking the President to see that flags are flown from Government buildings throughout the country on the second Sunday in May, "Mother's Day.")

EVERY day is Mother's Day at our house. When she is actually in the house, however, it seems more like Mother's Day than when she is not filling the rooms with her gentle presence. We love Mother best with her hat off, when her kind and patient eyes are not in shadow, and we can touch the little streaks of silver in her soft brown hair.

When, as children, we came trooping in from school, we always shouted as we crossed the threshold, "Where are you, Mother?" If there came no answering call "In the kitchen, darlings," or "Here in my room," a chill fell on us and the very spirit of Life itself seemed to have vanished. How empty the place suddenly became—how loud and lonely sounded the ticking of the clock in the dining room. Then came the sad realization that on Tuesday afternoons the "Ladies' Aid" or "Foreign Missions" always swallowed her up, and that for the time being we must postpone sharing our small joys and sorrows with Mother.

Where are you, Mother? ask the children of all ages, of all times. For it's sharing life with you that keeps youth sweet and clean and wholesome. It's having you for an anchor in time of temptation that helps us weather many a gale. It's knowing that we shall always find you at the same old stand, with your hat off and your kind hand held out to us (no matter in what mood we come) that forces us to believe in a Life beyond life, a Power greater than the powers of the world and the flesh. Oh, Mother, life is a grim and bitter business. We are often too rushed to give you the tender words of appreciation which are your due. Do you know that to us, your sons and daughters, you stand for spiritual force, and that you are just a little lower than the angels of Heaven? Do you know that your non-partisan attitude in all the squabbles of your children has made you our court of last resort?

They would have us believe, the suffragists, that you are a failure. They tell us that to be a success you must identify yourself with the Republican, the Democratic or the Progressive party. They want you to keep your hat on most of the time. They want you to parade and hike and attend caucuses, primaries and conventions. Your work is never finished now, dear. Must this load be added to your other tasks? And if you are going to become a mother to the Municipality, who is to mother us? Who is to be waiting for us at home in time of need?

The children of to-morrow wait just across life's threshold on the side nearest heaven. "Where are you, Mother?" they call. Oh, girls of to-day who are the mothers of to-morrow, where you are there must your children be also. They are your hostages to fortune. They are

your natural and inevitable handicap. Even as they spread they clip your wings.

How may a woman enter the public arena and run as far and as fast as a man if little hands cling to her skirts? How can she compete with men and win at their games if she carries a baby in her arms? Success may only come by dropping the baby, or by refusing ever to feel the pressure of its little round head against her heart.

Our Mothers, you whom we honor to-morrow, because of us you have won no fame in the public arena. You have played the game of life for higher stakes; self-abnegation and self-sacrifice have been your lot. They were the portion of the Christ in whose footsteps you have followed. Your goal has been spiritual achievement, not worldly success.

To-morrow your sons and daughters, careless and strong and young, will arise in the gates and call you blessed. When the church bells ring throughout the land fold your worn hands and breathe a prayer for us all, your children. We need your intercession sadly, for many of us have come a bitter distance since we learned to whisper at your knee, "Our Father, Which Art in Heaven." Some of us have tasted the dregs in the cup. * * *

Oh, Mothers, our Mothers, what have you not endured for us, in your bodies, in your hearts, and in your souls? As we pause to pay our tribute to you there rises a lump in the throat and we cannot see because our eyes are blind with tears. The ground upon which we are standing is holy ground. Your halo is the connecting link between earth and heaven. Do not discard it for a wreath of dusty laurel leaves. Blessed are you among women to-day, for of all women you have chosen the better part.

Do You Hear the Women Marching, Little Mother?

A Transposition by FLORENCE GOFF SCHWARZ, with Apologies to the Author

Do you hear the women marching, little mother,
Where you slumber in your narrow bed apart,
With your toil-worn hands locked fast, idle, motionless at last
Clasped above the ashen crater of your heart?
Do you hear the restless measure of the tramping?
Do you hear the chorused shouting and the jeers
Of the women who beneath their feet are stamping
All you prayed and wept and toiled for through the years?
Do you hear the cruel scoffing, gentle mother,
Making little of your labor and your pain?
Hear them say the love you gave was but tribute of a slave,
That your teachings and your efforts were in vain?
That the blessed home you made was but a prison,
Shutting you, a parasite, behind its bars?
As those scornful voices rise in wild derision,
Do they reach you, mother mine, beyond the stars?

Do you know that every dear ideal you cherished
Has been ridiculed and scoffed and set aside
For the Gods of Fame and Pelf, the idolatry of Self
And the specious, empty sophistry of Pride?
I remember, I remember, little mother,
How you threaded gentle fingers through my hair,
As you told me all the sweet and tender meaning
Of the tiny golden ring you used to wear.

How for you it circled all of love and duty,
How the noblest often pays the dearest price,
How the path to highest gain often leads through aisles of pain,
And the richest gift of all is sacrifice.
Do you hear the women marching, little mother,
Where you slumber in your quiet bed apart.
God be praised, you cannot hear aught of ridicule and jeer,
For the rabble fain would trample on your heart.

A SUFFRAGIST ENDORSEMENT OF DIVORCE-ON-REQUEST

THE action of the recent General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church on the divorce question has brought the topic actively before the public mind. The Assembly went on record in favor of a universal, federal divorce law to replace the conflicting laws of the different States.

Attention has already been drawn in THE PROTEST (October, 1913) to the fact that seven out of the ten woman suffrage States are numbered among the first fifteen States in the number of divorces granted per 100,000 of their married population. This showing cannot be laid to the fact that dissatisfied couples from other States seek divorce in the western States where the marriage contract is less binding. In fact, Nevada and South Dakota, two States of notoriously easy divorce, have but 315 and 270 divorces respectively, compared with the three adjoining suffrage States, Colorado, Wyoming and Idaho, which have 409, 361 and 347 divorces per 100,000 of married population.

What is the attitude of leading suffragists upon the marriage question?

The attitude of the Socialists is doubtless well set forth by Morris Hillquit, who was selected by *Everybody's Magazine* as the leading exponent of Socialism in the country, to debate with John Augustine Ryan, D.D., in the pages of that magazine.

In the April (1913) issue, Dr. Ryan replies to his Socialist opponent's views on marriage as follows:

"My opponent contends that sex partnerships terminable at the will of either party (for they are to last only as long as their sole basis, *mutual* love, endures) may properly be called monogamous. I think he is wrong, but we shall not quarrel over definitions. The *institution* that he defends is the all-important thing.

"My contention that his 'love-unions' would last a much shorter time than the average marriage of today, drew from him a more or less irrelevant statement concerning the alarming number of divorces in the United States. Inasmuch as the great majority of our divorces occur among the upper and middle classes, in which the woman was not obliged to marry for a livelihood, but possessed opportunities of 'economic independence' at least equal to the average that would prevail under Socialism, they evidently refute rather than support the view of my opponent that marriages based upon love alone would endure in undimmed and lifelong purity in a much larger number of cases than to-day."

In the Washington (D. C.) parade of the suffragists, on May 2d, the Socialist delegation bore a banner inscribed:

"One Million Socialists are
Working for Woman
Suffrage."

It may be fairly assumed that these "One Million" Socialist-Suffragists are in sympathy with the underlying principle of "marriage terminable at the will of either party."

This is not exclusively a Socialist doctrine, however.

We find in a book bearing the title, "Let's Civilize the Marriage Laws," written by "Richard D. Kathrens," published in the year 1913, this remarkable statement:

"It is the belief of the writer that the ends of justice and the best interests of society would be better served if a divorce were granted to any wife who was willing to ask for it. She should not be required to subject herself to the further humiliation of detailing for the delectation of a curious and gossipy public, the indignities she may have endured or of confessing any of her own frailties or mistakes."

The book is endorsed by Mrs. Gussie D. Ogden, leading suffragist and member of the Cincinnati (Ohio) Suffrage Organization, which is in turn an official unit in the National Woman Suffrage Association.

The edition from which this quotation is taken bears the signature and the photograph of Mrs. Ogden, is embossed in gold on the cover, "Special Gussie D. Ogden Edition," contains both her endorsement of its contents and an extra chapter written by her.

In her foreword Mrs. Ogden says:

"This book so perfectly voices my sentiments that my own soul has struggled to utter, that I feel impelled—as if by a sense of duty—to help give it wings. So much am I impressed with the moral value of the theories advanced in this book, I have concluded to do all in my power to encourage its reading generally by thinking people; and to that end I shall be glad to co-operate with you in spreading this new and regenerating gospel. The only reward I desire or expect is the joy that will be mine in the consciousness of having contributed something to the success of a movement that promises so much of good to society and the race.

"The Marriage-Divorce question presents the most tremendous problem of the hour, and Mr. Kathrens—in this book—gives us the sanest solution. He points out, with consummate skill, the real trouble with our marriage system; he locates the diseased spot in our social order, and he indicates the remedy. He is much in advance of all

the other champions of the rights of women, and he offers the most powerful argument for a legal recognition of their rightful status.

"It is my intention to place a copy of this book—with my compliments—in the hands of every legislator in the United States, and I shall urge upon each of them a study of the theories advanced by this author, in the hope that his conclusions and recommendations may find early expression in our laws.

"I am giving this book the benefit of my unqualified indorsement because in my judgment it means more for the emancipation of woman and the real upbuilding of the race than all the books heretofore written, and I want to help carry its saving philosophy to every home in America."

In the chapter written by her, this suffragist leader declares:

"The granting of easier divorces will alone purge and cleanse the marital relations, which just now are under the most degenerate form, and which alone the future of easy divorces will remedy."

The author says on page 62 (we quote the page lest we be disbelieved by some):

"When a boy and a girl, *under natural conditions*, avow their love for each other, they immediately become qualified by that fact to perpetuate the race, and without the necessity of a public declaration, the recital of prescribed formulas, or other meaningless ceremony, they are then to all intents and purposes married. This confession of reciprocal love alone constitutes the *real* marriage; all else is foreign, non-essential—pretty but empty formality."

And Mrs. Ogden, the suffragist leader, says that this is the "Saving Philosophy" which she wants "carried to every home in America."

That a man should be entitled to a divorce only by the written consent of his wife is another recommendation of this "prophet" endorsed by a suffragist leader. We read (on page 135):

"It has been said by one of the greatest liberal authorities on marital law that 'a man should have a divorce if he can prove that he is entitled to it.' The author dissents from this opinion for the reason that there is here implied the right of the husband to prefer charges against the wife, a procedure which under our peculiar system may disgrace her and forever blast her future. He opposes to this view his own belief that a husband can—under no circumstances—justly claim exemption from any of the duties and responsibilities entailed by the marriage contract, on the ground of a change of temperament, of a lack of devotion on the part of his wife, or

for any other cause, unless she approves his petition. In other words, he holds that a man is never entitled to a divorce unless his wife is willing that he shall have it. He believes that a sane and civilized law will invest the wife with absolute and final power in all such actions."

Turning back to page 131, we find this proposal for the new regime:

"Even if divorce is sought by a wife for the avowed purpose of marrying another man, there are many good and scientific reasons why that fact should be made a statutory ground for a legal severance of the marriage tie in her case. This privilege, under no circumstances, can be claimed justly as the right of the husband, but in the nature of things is a prerogative solely of the wife."

On page 124 we read:

"It will be further admitted that mistakes—grievous mistakes—would result from such a law, but it is maintained that it were better—a thousand times better—that ninety-nine divorces should be granted for insufficient cause than that one unwelcome, unloved child should be born."

Later on we read:

"The full release of the husband from the civil obligations of the marriage bond should always require—in addition to the Court's decree—the written consent of the wife."

"The degree or quality of the wife's offending has no proper part in the case and need not be considered. This is purely extraneous to the issue and cannot rightfully release the husband, and should not vitiate the lawful title of the wife to his support."

In most discussion of divorce the children born of marriage are ignored.

What is to be their fate when divorce-on-request becomes the rule? Shall they be brought up by the State in institutions?

The Nevada Equal Franchise Society recently sought to bring the suffrage question into the public schools. They proposed that the children be allowed to compete in an essay contest, "each child in the school who is old enough to write an essay on suffrage."

The Board of Regents of the University of Nevada frowned upon it and the School Board of Tonopah and Goldfield prohibited it. At a school election subsequently held, the Suffragist-Socialist ticket supported the suffragists who sought to introduce politics into the schools. In both places the candidates pledged to keep suffrage propaganda out of the schools were elected by a majority of more than two to one.

In the issue of the New York *Call*, a Socialist paper of April 20th, a writer said: "Suffrage is a means by which to obtain Socialism. Socialism is an impossibility without suffrage."

"SHOOT THE KING"

Since printing the militant article in our May number, the outrages have increased four-fold. The breaking of windows and art objects has given way to the burning of historic churches and relics and threats to kidnap the King's son. The insult to Royalty has increased public indignation to the breaking point.

(Reno, Nev., Gazette, May 24)

THE suffragist demonstration yesterday in London has probably surpassed in its defiance of law and organized society any demonstration that has ever taken place in an English-speaking nation. The spirit of the meeting seemed to be best expressed in the general cry of "Shoot the King."

Neither in the Wilkes riots, the Lord Gordon riots, the more recent labor riots or the Home Rule riots have law and order been so unbridled. And all this in a country where women enjoy the franchise in larger measure than they do in the average of the forty-eight States of this Republic. The women of England are already permitted to vote generally, and have for years been permitted to vote for elective officers charged with executive and administrative duties.

These riots of English women in their most conspicuous feature run parallel to the Haymarket riots of Chicago in 1886. The venom and the hatred in those riots, as in the English suffragist riots, were directed at the police in particular and the courts and constituted authorities in general. There stands to-day in Haymarket Square a monument to the brave officers whose lives were sacrificed to the murderous inclinations of those Chicago leaders who later paid the penalty on the gallows.

Anarchy begets anarchy and riot promotes riot until the people arise in the majesty of their power and restore the rule of law. A magistrate yesterday, in addressing one of these militants, said:

"Some day an exasperated crowd will break into a procession of militants. What will then happen to you women, nobody knows at present. You have to thank the police for being alive. You owe them a debt of gratitude."

How long under existing conditions the police may be able to restrain the people and protect these suffragist mobs against other mobs remains to be seen. But the time can not be long.

"Shoot the King." Why? Because he has defied the law or the people? No. Because law and government are centered in him as the head of a nation that has not approved the suffragist demands. His successor would be subject to the same as-

saults. These female anarchists want government not by a majority but by a minority.

If a majority of England believed that the sum of human happiness would be increased by granting the suffragist demands, the majority would not hesitate. But unwilling to abide by majority rule without the ballot, what assurance have the people that these militants would abide by majority rule with the ballot, whenever they found themselves in a minority?

And yet these militants and their methods are not without their champions and defenders in this country. We find Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, the leader of the Equal Suffrage movement in America, using this language in England:

"I meant what I said before leaving the United States. If New York fails to awake we shall introduce militant methods of the type used in England."

We find Mrs. Alice L. Park, a noted suffrage worker in California, using language like this:

"I sympathize deeply with the tactics of the militants in London. I am tired of the English women being blamed for crudeness and for their violence. To them a great deal of credit is due for getting the votes for women in California, in giving publicity to the cause. If they did not destroy property, and do things out of the ordinary, no one would pay any attention to them, and their action would be a pure loss."

There are other advocates of the suffrage movement exalted to positions of leadership whose activities and utterances are in line with the above. Not a few, but many of them. Are the women of America disposed to follow this leadership as holding the strongest promise of improved social conditions? Is the wisdom, the knowledge of government, the statesmanship of the type or kind that would advance the world? Have these women suddenly imbibed political wisdom that man has never been able to comprehend?

The following letter, signed "Once a Supporter of Lindsey," appeared last month in *The Pueblo Chieftain*:

If the judges, the lawyers, the business men of Colorado will stand for the following testimony given yesterday in New York before the federal industrial commission by Judge Ben Lindsey, they deserve the slander: "Colorado has perfected the science of corrupting men. Its judges, its supreme court judges, are owned like office boys. Its lawyers, its business men, all are owned."

What do the women of Denver, who largely made the little judge what he is politically, think of this covert attack upon woman suffrage?

ACTIVITIES

PENNSYLVANIA

THE first State Convention of the Associations opposed to woman suffrage was held in Harrisburg, Pa., Thursday, April 30, 1914, at the Y. M. C. A. Hall. Mr. John Fox Weiss made the address of welcome and wished the delegates of the various States success in their deliberations.

In expressing his viewpoint with reference to this success, Mr. Weiss said in part:

"I would go hand in hand with anyone of you opposed to women voting, and in plain English that is what I understand woman suffrage to be. I hope the day is not far distant when the women of the Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage will see fit, if that day has not arrived, to withdraw any opposition in the legislature and that the question which is a momentous one may go to the people, where I think it ought to go. I express only my own conviction. I hope the day is not far distant when the women will withdraw any opposition to the end that this question may be submitted to the popular vote where it belongs. In our republic, if such questions are not to be submitted to the people, we have come to a pass. That is only my simple view. I am telling you what I think that the great majority of men wish. I believe that they wish not to see the women at the polls; that is, the majority who have the good of the country at heart. But I do believe that the men of this nation want that question submitted to a popular vote. I believe that is the place where questions of such momentous importance ought to go for a final solution. If we are anything at all, we are a government of the people, for the people, by the people. By the majority vote we ought to be governed and a question that affects the whole State, and through the State the whole nation, ought to go to the people, so that the people can say what shall be done in their own State.

Our Legislature will soon be in session. This question has got to go to the Legislature and it will be for you to determine just what stand you will take before the next session. If it does not go to the people then, you will carry on your fight until the question has been submitted to a popular vote. You should devote yourself to the question which will be discussed today. We accord you here our full measure of hospitality. We are glad that you saw fit to come to Harrisburg, the Capitol of the State. We hope you will enjoy your stay here, and we do hope that your deliberations will be productive of a great deal of good."

In the absence of Mrs. Brock, President of the Pennsylvania Association, Mrs.

Arthur M. Dodge, President of the National Association presided at the Convention.

Interesting reports of the work of the various Associations were given, and Mrs. David Kirk, of Pittsburgh, reported on the formation and results of the study classes.

The speakers at the evening session were Mrs. Frank J. Goodwin, of Westfield, N. J., Mrs. O. D. Oliphant, of Trenton, N. J., and Mrs. Louis Poillet, officer of the Pennsylvania State Grange.

Mrs. Goodwin spoke on the general subject; Mrs. Oliphant on State organization work, and Mrs. Poillet gave her reasons for the belief that the farm woman does not need the ballot.

The evening session opened at 8.15, and Miss Emmiline Pitt, of Pittsburgh, told the audience of the wage-earning woman's attitude toward woman suffrage.

Mrs. Frank J. Goodwin and Miss Lucy J. Price were the other speakers, each making interesting addresses on the principles and aims of the National Association and the work accomplished by the various State Associations organized under its constitution.

The attendance at the Convention was large and the enthusiasm intense.

MONTANA

The organization meeting of the Montana State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was held in Butte, Montana, on May 15th. The meeting was called to order by Mrs. J. M. White, who nominated Mrs. Clinton H. Moore as temporary chairman and Mrs. Theodore Simon, secretary. The following pledge was adopted:

"We, the undersigned women of Butte, Montana, hereby assert that we are opposed to equal suffrage.

"We believe woman's influence should be felt in public life, in schools, in universities, in nation and state, but we do not believe her influence can best be exerted if women become involved in political altercations and partisan division.

"We believe that the ballot is not only unnecessary, but that it is a positive menace to the best interests and progress of womankind, because of the great responsibilities which it would add to the already manifold duties and responsibilities in woman's life.

"We oppose equal suffrage, because it is progressive only in name; because there is no compensation for the great economic loss which it involves.

"The power of public opinion is greater than the ballot. The power to arouse public opinion now is in the hands of women through the home and in the education of the young.

"We stand for the home-trained child. We stand for the stability of the home. We stand for the real welfare of the whole country."

NEW JERSEY

—Meetings held in New Jersey during April and May.—

April: McCosh Hall, Princeton; Y. M. C. A. Hall, Trenton; Cranford; Y. M. C. A. Hall, Plainfield; Brick Church; Woman's Club, Orange, Parlor Meeting; Bayonne; Ash Building, Masonic Hall, Paterson; West Hoboken; Hoboken.

May: Elizabeth; Hackensack; Nutley; Sewaren; Jersey City; Moorestown; Paterson; Perth Amboy; Camden; Elizabethport; Montclair; Upper Montclair; Morristown.

Hon. John A. Matthews, Miss Lucy Price, Mrs. O. D. Oliphant, and Mrs. Frank J. Goodwin, Mrs. K. G. Roebeling, Mrs. Alexander Jamieson and Miss Mary McKenn were the speakers on the anti-suffrage side.

NEW YORK

—New York City and State meetings during April and May.—

April: New York City, 16th A. D. Republican Club; Progressive Republican Club, First Assembly District; Three at the Brearley School; Luncheon at Hotel Biltmore; State Conference at Headquarters; Madison Square Church House Boys' Club; Mr. Taft's Lecture, 18th Assembly District, Brooklyn; Mrs. McDougall's House, and Tilden Democratic Club.

New York State: Troy; Albany; Goshen; Flushing and Schenectady.

May: New York City; Board of City Superintendents; Public School No. 165; Men's Club; St. Mark's Club; Men's Club, Brooklyn Presbyterian Church.

New York State: Freeport, Long Island; Schenectady; Scarsdale; Hudson; Nyack; Cazenovia; Syracuse and Auburn.

The speakers were Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, Mrs. Frank J. Goodwin, Mrs. A. J. George, Miss Lucy Price, Mrs. Alice Foote Macdougall, Miss Marjorie Dorman, Miss Alice Edith Abell, Miss Edith Drescher, Miss Ethel Beyea, Mr. John A. Matthews.

MASSACHUSETTS

A notable gathering in many respects was the meeting of the anti-suffragists, the largest ever held in Boston, at Faneuil Hall, Wednesday evening, April 28. The gathering was called for 8 o'clock, but long before that hour the main hall was packed, and crowds had to be turned away, two overflow meetings being arranged for in the halls overhead.

Ex-Governor Curtis Guild presided, and leading speakers were Miss Marjorie Dorman, secretary of the Wage-Earners Anti-Suffrage League of New York, Mrs. A. J. George and Mr. John A. Mathews of the New Jersey Legislature.

VIRGINIA

A LITTLE over two years ago the Virginia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was organized with sixty-seven members enrolled. At the age of one year we numbered 705. To-day we have more than trebled our membership and are 2,161 strong, all over 21 years of age.

Nine Branch Associations have been formed. In

Salem, with Mrs. Wolley, Miss Armstrong and Miss Griffin at the head.

Graham, Miss Claibon, Mrs. Barbee and Mrs. Poindexter.

Clifton Forge, Misses Irwin.

Fredericksburg, Mrs. Ficklin.

Chester, Mrs. Fuqua.

Lexington, Mrs. Harvey Wise.

U. Va., Miss C. Preston Davis.

Clarksville, Miss Rebecca Leigh.

Shawsville, Dr. Gardiner and Miss Edmundson.

In July Mrs. Charles Ferrell, Secretary of the Association, went to Charlottesville with literature and membership cards for distribution at the summer school then in session at the University of Virginia. After Mrs. B. B. Valentine advocated suffrage before the "Assembly" of the Summer School, Mrs. Frank Goodwin, of Washington, D. C., came and ably represented our side. Results from this meet-

ing are still being felt, for letters are being received constantly from all parts of our southland asking for literature. These calls are always answered immediately. Literature has been sent upon request to all parts of our State, to North Carolina, Ohio, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, West Virginia, Kentucky, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Georgia.

Our Association has been represented twice this year at the meeting of the National Board in New York. In September our President, Miss Rutherford, went, and in December Miss Rutherford, Mrs. Ferrell and Mrs. Gordon Battle were present. During our State Fair leaflets were distributed daily by the "Burton System" under the direction of the Literature and Press Committee.

In December we rented headquarters at No. 309 E. Franklin Street. This was only temporary and was to continue until the Legislature adjourned. An abundance of literature was placed there and could be obtained free of cost. We kept the room three months.

An Emergency Committee was formed by the President to act with her on important questions that demanded immediate attention. This committee was composed of the following ladies: Mrs. Cary, Mrs. Strause, Miss Blair, Mrs. Taylor and Mrs. Ferrell.

GEORGIA

On May 29th an Anti-Suffragist organization was formed in Macon, Ga. The meeting was held at the Dempsey Hotel. Miss Caroline Patterson was elected Chairman; Mrs. W. E. Godfrey was made First Vice-Chairman; Mrs. N. K. Troutman, Second Vice-Chairman; Mrs. J. E. Peacock, Third Vice-Chairman; Mrs. B. L. Sutton, Secretary; Mrs. A. T. Holt, Treasurer; Mrs. S. C. Moore, Corresponding Secretary, and Miss Pendleton, Chairman of the Press Committee.

Mrs. Walter Lamar in calling the meeting to order said:

"Are we Southern women going to let Westerners come into our Southland, tell us how to manage our affairs and thrust the vote on us when we don't want it, realizing they know nothing of the condition of affairs before and since the reconstruction?"

"Few women of our day realize the horrors of the reconstruction and realize if the Bristow amendment is passed and the Republicans get into control again, we will have the negroes put into office over our heads."

AN UNFAIR ATTACK

CARTOONS have appeared in certain newspapers illustrating several men representing the various vice interests, and one woman labeled "Anti-Suffrage." While no names were mentioned, these cartoons are considered a direct attack on Miss Markeson, as they appeared immediately following a printed attack upon her by a western newspaper.

The Omaha *Excelsior* of April 25, contains the following, written by Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, President of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, answering an inquiry regarding the attack:

In regard to the interview that Miss Markeson had with the assistant editor of the *National Forum*, Mr. Taylor, she did not insist upon her interview being kept strictly confidential and secret. Mr. Taylor has never made any public statements about the interview, but Mr. J. E. Mullinix, the editor, has done so, apparently getting his information from Mr. Taylor second-hand.

I have Miss Markeson's sworn affidavit as to what she said to Mr. Taylor, from which the following is quoted: "Taylor offered to help us in any way that he could. I absolutely refused any understanding or co-operation. I did not offer

nor accept, as Mr. Mullinix has stated, any agreement to co-operate. On the contrary, I absolutely refused any offer. In regard to that matter there can be no misunderstanding whatever with Mr. Taylor."

In a letter which I wrote to the editor of the *Anaconda Standard*, in which the article referred to in your clipping was printed, I said, "Miss Markeson did not even hint that our campaign would be laid before this editor for 'consideration or possible co-operation.' On the contrary, she refused emphatically such offered co-operation, acting under my instructions.

We believe thoroughly in the intelligence of the women and men of Montana, and consider it of too high an order to be deceived by the arguments and misstatements of the suffragists. When we start a campaign in that state, we shall do it in the perfectly fair, square, open manner which we have always followed in other states. The liquor or saloon interests may be against suffrage or for it. Their attitude on the matter makes no difference whatever with our campaign, which we shall conduct along legitimate lines, presenting our arguments before the people and leaving them to formulate their own opinion.

IMPORTANT

A CAMPAIGN is under way to increase the subscription list of THE PROTEST. Each State is asked to produce new subscriptions equal to 10 per cent. of its membership. Are you doing your share? Some States are withholding subscriptions in order to make a big showing. Send them in now to make a showing in the July number. Write us for particulars of the competition.

RESULT OF PROTEST COMPETITION TO JUNE 1, 1914

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Maine	3
Maryland	0
Massachusetts	45
Michigan	17
Minnesota	27
Montana	33
Nebraska	5
New Hampshire.....	1
New Jersey.....	15
New York.....	45
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Virginia	0
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Should We Ask for the Suffrage? *Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer*
Woman's Relation to Government *Mrs. Wm. F. Scott*
New Zealand and Australia, etc.
How Women Can Best Serve the State *Mrs. Barclay Hazard*
The Blank Cartridge Ballot *Rossiter Johnson*
Why I Am Opposed to Woman Suffrage *Hon. Harold J. Hinman*

Address (Made before Constitutional Convention, 1894) *Hon. Elihu Root*

Taxation and Suffrage *Frederick Dwight*
Woman's Progress vs. Woman Suffrage *Helen Kendrick Johnson*
Woman and the Law *Francis M. Scott*
First Legislative Address *Mrs. Francis M. Scott*
Woman Suffrage *Carl Schurz*
Suffragists Desert Philanthropy, etc.

Woman Suffrage and the Equal Guardianship Law
Dodgers

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The Militant and the Child *Mrs. F. M. Scott*
Woman's Rights vs. Woman Suffrage *Mrs. A. J. George*
Equality of Suffrage Means the Debasement, etc. *John R. Dos Passos*

Woman Suffrage and Child Labor Legislation *Minnie Bronson*
Wage-Earning Woman and the State *Minnie Bronson*
The Relation of the Sexes to Government *Prof. Edward Cope*
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